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THE UNION.

A SERMON,

DELIVERED

In Grace Church, New York,

ON THE DAY OF THE NATIONAL FAST,

January 4, 1861.

BY

THOMAS HOUSE TAYLOR, D. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

NEW YORK:
BAKER & GODWIN, PRINTERS.
PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE, OPP. CITY HALL.
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New York, January 4, 1861.

Rev. Thomas House Taylor, D. D.

Reverend and Dear Sir,—Having this morning, as members of the congregation of Grace Church, heard, with the deepest interest, the sermon delivered by you in that Church,—and believing that an extensive dissemination, at this time, of a discourse so sound in its principles, so just in its views, so true in its sentiment, and so patriotic in its spirit, cannot fail to do good,—we earnestly request that you will be pleased to furnish us with a copy of your sermon for publication,—

And remain, as always, Reverend and Dear Sir, with the highest respect and esteem, your friends and obedient servants,

L. BRADISH,

ROBERT RAY,	GEO. W. McCOLLOM,
JAMES MONROE,	BENJ. H. FIELD,
JOHN VAN BUREN,	A. NORRIE,
D. B. FEARING,	CHARLES SUYDAM,
P. LORILLARD,	WM. DOUGLAS,
H. VAN RENSSELAER,	C. R. GREEN,
B. AYMAR,	JOHN DAVID WOLFE,
H. D. ALDRICH,	GEORGE BARCLAY.
P. V. HOFFMAN,	CH. AUG. DAVIS,
HENRY DELAFIELD,	E. PRIME.

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804 Broadway, New York, *January* 5, 1861.

Gentlemen,—

If you suppose that the sermon which you have so kindly requested for publication can be of any sort of use, in this crisis of our country's history, I shall have much pleasure in placing it at your disposal.

With every sentiment of respect and regard, I am, gentlemen, most truly your friend and pastor,

THOMAS HOUSE TAYLOR.

To Messrs. Bradish, Ray, Monroe, and others.

SERMON.

"Watchman, what of the night?"—Isaiah, xxi. 11.

In the Scriptures the term Watchman is constantly applied to the ministers of God. They are regarded as being set apart to watch over the safety of His people, to guard them from threatening dangers, and to lift up the voice of warning against their peculiar sources of temptation or causes of calamity. In keeping up the figure of speech in which the Prophet is called a watchman, "the night" is used to denote the particular period of time in which he is exercising his office. And the people of Mount Sier are represented as anxiously inquiring of the Prophet what news he had for them from God? what meaning he could read for them in the portentous signs of the times?

My brethren, assembled, as we are, at the invitation of the Powers that be, to humble ourselves with prayer and fasting before the God of nations, on account of the threatening aspect of the times,—on account of passing events which unfold them-

selves so ominously to the unity, peace, and happiness of our country,—I can well fancy that I hear you appealing to me, as I stand a servant of the Most High God, in his consecrated temple, and before his holy altar, for the words of warning, of comfort, and of instruction I may have to deliver to you. I can well fancy that I hear you exclaiming, in tones of anxiety, "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"

It is impossible to suppose that such an assemblage of Christian people as are now before me, can be indifferent to the extraordinary condition of things amid which we are called to act; and no thoughtful mind can fail to perceive that at no period within the history of our race has the condition of the whole world been so extraordinary, so solemn, so ominous. At such a time it is impossible for any of us to separate ourselves from the feelings which are proper for the Christian, the patriot, and the man!

It is always wrong for the minister of Christ to mix himself up with the bitter strife of political parties. It is wrong in him to fan the flames of discord; to stir up strife and to inflame the minds of his hearers with rancorous feelings; to array his fellow-countrymen against each other in bloody war, and thus to become an instrument for bringing

desolation and misery over ten thousand homes. Ah! it would be better for such men had they never been born. But to love his country, to sympathize most deeply in its fortunes, to watch with sleepless vigilance over its avenues of prosperity and its causes of woe, and to strive to animate your hearts with lofty patriotism, and to fill them with something of his own spirit of love, unity, and peace, can never be inconsistent with either his position or his duties as a religious teacher.

My brethren, we are here upon a solemn fast-day, in the house of prayer, to acknowledge our sins before God, and to implore his mercy for our country. Every mind is excited, every heart is alarmed, and gloomy forebodings of calamity fill every eye with the tears of agony. And for why is all this? Our country was never more blessed with all the abounding elements of prosperity; our seasons were never more healthful; our lands were never more fruitful; our agricultural, commercial, and financial interests were never before more admirably balanced, and every way calculated to prove exuberant fountains of happiness. But suddenly a black cloud has arisen in the South, and the muttering thunder that comes from it speaks to us of political discontents so deep and serious as to lead to all the horrors of disunion! My brethren, I have already said, from

this place, that if there be any causes of complaint, well-founded and reasonable, then I am perfectly sure that every right-minded and kindly-disposed person, of every shade of party, will be ready and willing to correct the evil in the way most acceptable to our complaining countrymen. But, at the same time, I must say that it is but fair and right that our dissatisfied friends should tell us clearly and explicitly what they would have us to do. What new guarantees do they require? what laws can be passed, and what laws can be repealed, to afford them the most unyielding satisfaction and security for all time to come? But unless they will do this,—unless they will meet our efforts to serve them in a reciprocal spirit of conciliation and kindness,—then I cannot see but our best feelings and our best efforts will be utterly useless! If our southern friends, goaded and irritated as they have been, shall rush from us in the frenzy of madness, and, listening to no voice of friendship, shall proceed recklessly in their work of disunion and ruin, then it becomes us to arrest them in their progress by the calm, and dignified, and firm, and gentle remonstrance, that too many and too mighty interests are involved in such a proceeding to allow it to go on without such opposing checks as the rest of us may be able to throw in! I find it difficult to

conceive how any intelligent and thoughtful man, when he takes into view all the mighty interests of this vast country, complicated as they are, and interwoven with each other as they necessarily must be, can for one moment suppose that these overwhelming millions of people are always to sit with folded arms and in listless meekness while all their high interests are sacrificed; while financial confidence, which is the life-blood of trade, is utterly destroyed; while the hum of industry, on the mart and in the workshop, is suspended, and private bankruptcies are carrying crushing wretchedness into numberless homes; yea, while the public credit is seriously impaired, the majesty of the government is insulted, its mighty powers are paralyzed while its property is seized, and the flag of this great nation's unbounded pride is trampled in the dust!

My brethren, these things ought never so to have been, and they cannot continue as they are very long. I say it calmly and solemnly, and after the most painful deliberation, and I believe that I speak the sentiments of every patriot that hears me when I say that it is not within the bounds of possibility that this state of things should continue very long. I would do nothing in unkindness; I would do nothing in harshness; I would extend forbearance and brotherly love to their utmost lim-

its; but yet the time cannot be very distant when the vast masses of our people, rising in their overwhelming might, shall speak in a voice which shall everywhere be heard and can nowhere be mistaken; and at the sound of it the workers of mischief of every sort and kind, in the pulpit and in the conclaves of political schemers—official agents of every grade and every shade of party, the corrupt and the imbecile alike—shall all of them disappear together from their places of trust, and the *law of right* shall be seen advancing, in its terrible majesty, to administer impartial justice and to command universal quietness and peace.

My brethren, I speak as an American citizen,* and I speak as a native of South Carolina; I speak as one who understands well her condition and her wrongs—understanding them as no stranger can by any possibility understand them; I speak, therefore, as one who has a right to speak, and when I speak words of censure they are spoken far more in sorrow than in anger. I say that South Carolina has wrongs to complain of; she has injuries to be redressed. Demagogues have assailed her with the ribaldry of the hustings in the sanctity of the Senate. She has been irritated and goaded to madness by the libels that have been poured forth, for years,

* See note A.

upon the most sacred and most delicate of her domestic institutions, by the mountebanks of the pulpit, who in their pestiferous career are animated by the most ignoble of all the forms in which worldly ambition can display itself,—the ambition for securing notoriety by an association with the demons in pandering to the false prejudices and malignant passions of vulgar minds. And is it to be wondered at, if the sons of Carolina have sometimes forgotten what was due to themselves, and the true dignity of their State, and descended to private retaliation and brutal violence? The mistakes, and follies, and crimes of individual men are not to be charged upon the countries to which they belong. We are now to deal with South Carolina as *a State*, and as one of these United States; and it is as such that I repeat, she has cause of complaint not only against individual men in the States of the North, but against many of those States in their executive, legislative, and judicial capacities. But then the grievances of South Carolina are precisely the same grievances as are complained of by her sister States of the South—nothing more, nothing less. Why, then, we have a right to ask, has she assumed this sad pre-eminence in rash precipitancy? Why has she rushed, without conference and without support, into all the dangers and mischief of revolution, un-

prepared for, and which can never terminate in good to anybody? Who does not feel that this most unwise haste has alienated the sympathy and weakened the hands of every friend of the South who clings to our Union as the only ark of strength and of safety for them and for us? Within the Union, all evils may be remedied and grievances redressed; but without the pale of our common fold of safety —without the reach of the chaste and cheering radiance that falls from our clustering Stars of Glory, there is no room for help—there is no deliverance to be found. There is no injury, nor insult, nor vexatious meddling with her most private and precious interests, under which she now writhes and frets, that will not be continued with the most absolute impunity, and with increased and most virulent bitterness! And, in addition to all that, every imagination will at once conjure up the uncounted horrors of every other kind which the strong and the wicked of the earth are ever ready to bring upon the unprotected and the weak.

I have just said that this extraordinary Revolution, which, as it seems to us, has been so inconsiderately entered upon by our sister State, can bring no good to any one. But I must beg to amend that saying by throwing out the suggestion that perhaps the contemplation of the false position in

which they are obliged to see that South Carolina has placed herself, with all of its attendant train of embarrassments, may prove sufficient to deter other and more thoughtful States from hurrying blindly on to the same fatal extremity of folly and ruin.*

My brethren, I do not believe that there is going to be any dismemberment of this powerful, this glorious country of ours—glorious in all the memories of the past, and thrice glorious in our entrancing prospects for the future!

The very thought of it seems to diffuse an odor of treason around us. Not that I would lend the least sanction to any teaching that would go to revive the effete doctrine of "passive obedience" to government† as an institution of God—not that I would agree to any wholesale denunciation of that immortal philosopher, John Locke, from whose writings, as from a treasure-house of wisdom, the founders of our Republic drew all their maxims of government—but because I believe that, linked and bound together as we are, the thing is an impossibility. As well might we hope to tear asunder the several parts that go to make up that marvelous machine, the human body, and then expect that each part, or any one of the parts, should continue to work on in usefulness and comfort. It is

* See Note B. † See Note C.

not only impossible, but it is entirely unnecessary, even if it were possible—I say that it is unnecessary and undesirable, because there are no evils experienced which cannot be far better corrected within the Union than out of it. There are no burdens of government that would not be increased an hundred fold by separation; and there are unnumbered blessings which it secures to us, quiet and unseen, perhaps, but yet for the loss of which nothing on this earth could compensate us. And as soon as time shall operate with its soothing influences, and our southern friends shall recover a little from the frenzy of excitement, into which scheming politicians have thrown them, they are too intelligent by far not to perceive and understand all of this.

The present excited condition of the public mind at the South is to be attributed to two causes. The first is the mistake of supposing that the insane ravings of certain fanatical preachers of abolitionism, in which the gibberish of falsehood is dressed up in the language of Holy Writ—the smart sayings of others, bordering always upon blasphemy, in which libels and denunciations are clothed, and mixed with coarse anecdotes and vulgar ribaldry—are fair expositions of the feelings of northern people for their countrymen of the South. I need

not say to you how entirely unfounded is any supposition like that. I surely need not prove to you how slight—how very slight—is the measure of influence exerted by such teachers as those, beyond the narrow sphere of their own immediate followers. But yet the press, in giving publicity to these jumbles of mendacity and malignity, have produced the most wide-spread mischiefs to our country. And so, too, the unscrupulous leaders of political parties have too often given utterance to the cant of abolitionism, in order to secure their temporary and selfish ends,—and thus the whole body of voters, who for far different purposes have been associated with these demagogues, are set down as all of them together, having abolition aims and objects. Nothing can be more false than that, and yet nothing has contributed more to alienate one section of our country from the other, and to break asunder the ties of love and mutual interest which ought to bind us inseparably together! No, no, my friends, I will never allow it to be said that the great body of the intelligent voters of the North have any sort of hostility or hatred for the South, or the least wish to interfere with their peculiar institutions; and I protest, in the name of truth and justice, against their being associated and confounded with the few noisy and wayward disturbers

of the public tranquility, who we know to be of a contrary mind.

In this connection, permit me to allude to the spectacle which our fellow-citizens of the free States have exhibited in their calm and universal submission to the slow movements of authority, in these dark days, while all their hopes have been blasted, their interests sacrificed, and their industry suspended, by the shocks which confidence has received from political disturbances. They might naturally have been supposed to be enraged against the authors of their miseries, and, without hope from either their rulers or law-makers, they would be ready to move in hostile array against somebody. But there has been nothing like it; and I do say that the universal acquiescence of our people in the orderings of the Government, although so very contrary to the universal and deep conviction of what would be wisest and best, presents us with a subject for thought of the sublimest import. It is that which could not have been witnessed in any other country on earth; and, with such a people, we have nothing to fear for the Union, or the glory of its flag. Leaving the negro, and all the vexations connected with him, to them whose province it is to take care of him, the men of the North and the East, with the American Eagle bearing the Stars

and Stripes in his beak, as their ensign of strength, will fix their eyes upon the West, and before their advancing footsteps the bleak prairie, the gloomy forest, and the wondering savage everywhere give place to the arts and comforts of civilized man—taking along with them, wherever they go, the spelling-book, the Bible, the railroad and the telegraph—those vast regions where nature has slumbered for ages in solitary grandeur will soon be resounding with songs of grateful hearts, lifted up in prayers and praises to God, and in expressions of good will to man. And when those boundless fields of plenty and joy, extending from one sea to the other, shall all be filled with Christian people, and all reposing in safety under the Constellation of Stars that the Eagle bears before his uplifted head, what nation of the globe will compare with us in power, or in all the essential elements of national glory and greatness?

But the second cause of restless uneasiness to our countrymen of the South is to be seen in the fruit of that false and pestilent teaching which would lead them to believe *the Union of the States* is the reason why South Carolina has not advanced in prosperity and power as rapidly as New York. The logic, as I found it in a paper recently submitted for my reading, amounts to this: "When the Constitution

"of the United States was adopted, the commerce "and shipping of Charleston was greater than that "of New York." "Consequently, if that Constitu- "tion had never been adopted, Charleston would "have grown and flourished as much as New York! "Break up our union with the North—let Charles- "ton resume her natural commerce, importing "directly from the whole world such commodities as "they produce and we need—and what a mighty "change would come over the prospects of Charles- "ton! Our colonial and tributary commerce with "the North would cease, and a mighty free com- "merce with the whole world would rise in its "stead. Capital would flow into a place where it "could be used with such advantage—the Roths- "childs and the Barings would soon be there— "and thus Charleston become the envy of all the "earth." I find it difficult to persuade myself that any man capable of writing the English language so well can, by any possibility, be made to believe his own teaching. I find it still more difficult to conceive how such a farrago of bald nonsense could ever have found a lodging-place amongst so intelligent a people as our friends of South Carolina. And yet it is perfectly certain that a persuasion of the truth of this teaching, and the brilliant hopes which have thus been awakened, are at the bottom of all

the turbulent and suicidal proceedings in that gallant but misguided State! Can any man tell me how and at what time the influence of the general Government has been exerted in favor of New York and to the injury of Charleston? Can any man tell me how a tariff of duties could, by any possibility, be framed, which would operate against Charleston, and would not at the same time operate against New York? Can any man deny that the tariff, as we now have it, was framed by South Carolina herself, and voted for unanimously by her representatives in Congress? Can it by any possibility be true that the most simple of all truths should be hidden from the people of South Carolina, and be plain and written in capitals for the reading of every man in the world besides, that the only reason why Charleston does not advance in commerce and population in proportion to New York is because she has no market for her imported goods? Let us only refer to a map of the United States, and when you trace the almost incredible range of country spreading out in every direction, with its dense and ever-increasing population, its rich manufactories, and countless products of every kind, all of which is poured into New York, and affords a market in return for the goods that are sent to New York to be sold—when you trace the marvelous network of

internal improvements, and that long chain of international seas, almost as wide an expanse of water as the Atlantic itself, and all of them affording the most wonderful facilities for an interchange of commodities—can any citizen of South Carolina fail to see that Charleston has not, and in the nature of things never can have, anything to compare with it? And, consequently, by no possibility can she ever become the great commercial emporium that New York now is, and must continue to be, with perpetually increasing accessions of prosperity and wealth. My friends, it is a sad and painful subject of thought, that the understanding of mankind should be so trifled with, and that, under a hallucination so gross and palpable to all eyes but their own, they should rush to ruin, and suppose that they are only led by the purest fires of patriotism. But I must be done. Let me only repeat that, as New-Yorkers, we have nothing to fear for ourselves. We can afford to be magnanimous and forbearing to the last degree. The check which the industry of our people has received will be temporary. There has been no sufficient cause for it in anything done by us or operating directly upon ourselves, and it is to be accounted for entirely by a reference to that extreme and morbid sensitiveness which financial confidence ever evinces to political disturbances. Upon

the first whisper of alarm from threatened troubles in Government, confidence hides himself in timid dismay, and when most wanted can nowhere be found. I will conclude by entreating you to cherish the all-important truth with which I have already sought to impress you—that, if not wanting to ourselves and to our God, nothing from without can by any means hurt us very long. Come what will, or come what may to other States, this City of New York must of necessity continue to be the center of capital and commerce to this Western Continent. Blessed as we are with a most unrivaled geographical position, commerce has here worn her broad and deep channels, and capital has flowed in upon the waves of commerce, and it is as impossible to change them as would be the attempt to check or change the downward flow of the water in the father of rivers. Our sister cities of the South may become prosperous and powerful; but just in proportion as they advance in power, just in the same proportion will they contribute to swell the influx of exchanges towards this great center of our commerce, this vast reservoir of wealth. They are as sure to flow this way as the Gulf Stream flows this way. These things, my friends, can never be controlled by any sectional legislation, because they are

governed by laws which are as certain and as fixed as those which secure the harmony of the spheres.*

Come, then, my beloved brethren, let us mourn over our iniquities and ingratitude, which render us so unworthy of these many and great blessings. Let us always remember that we have nothing to dread so much as *wickedness* in our people. But our God is good! He is infinite in mercy. He was the God of our fathers, and we will trust in him with a confidence that never falters. Let us always look upon those who differ from us with kindness and charity. Let us say to them, with hearts overflowing with tenderness, Sirs, we are brethren; your country is our country, our people are your people, and your people are our people, and never may it be otherwise! Never may our prayers ascend from the altars of our hearts for you or for ourselves, save it be as for friends and fellow-citizens, and all of us together as fellow-candidates for the immortality of the skies.

* See Note D.

NOTES.

[A.]

The State of South Carolina, from and after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, has had no more power to confer citizenship than her towns of Coosawhatchie and Pocotaligo. It is thus that I am a native of South Carolina, a resident of New York, and a CITIZEN of these United States of America,—and it is to that nation only that my allegiance is due. How serious, then, is the mistake of those many gallant officers from the army and navy of our country, who had sworn fidelity to the Constitution of the United States under every possible circumstance of solemnity, and whose noble energies had been so long identified with the glory of our flag,—who are expected to be faithful, although all other men should prove faithless,—are yet found to desert their posts and their colors, when the hour of trial comes, under a persuasion that superior allegiance is due to some little corner of the land which happens to be marked by the accident of their birth!

To the officer who has once assumed the high responsibility of sustaining and defending the interests of this great Republic, the flag of his country becomes identified with his whole being, and so continues as long as life lasts. Its honor is associated with his every thought, and it would be insult to suggest that its glory was not more sacred than his life. When worn and wasted in upholding it, without one moment's faltering, he resigns his spirit to his God, and is consoled in the cold hour of death by the reflection that his body will be enwrapped in the emblem of his country's glory, which he has never either deserted or disgraced.

In this connection I will invite attention to the following extract from a speech delivered by the late Hon. Joel R. Poinsett

during a season of extraordinary excitement in South Carolina, nearly thirty years ago, when the doctrine of secession was, perhaps, first agitated. Mr. Poinsett was a distinguished citizen of the United States, born in South Carolina, and, in the latter years of his life, was entrusted with a succession of the highest offices within the gift of the people and the Government. His trusts were, each one and all, surrendered to the hands from which he received them, untainted by the breath of suspicion as to malfeasance or treason. Such things were unheard of in *those days!*

The greatest portion of Mr. Poinsett's life was passed in traveling over every accessible part of the world, and it was in reference to this wide experience that he said—

"Wherever I have been, I have been proud of being a citizen of this Republic, and to the remotest corners of the earth have walked erect and secure under that banner which our opponents would tear down and trample under foot. I was in Mexico when the town was taken by assault. The house of the American Ambassador* was then, as it ought to be, the refuge of the distressed and persecuted. It was pointed out to the infuriated soldiery as a place filled with their enemies. They rushed to the attack. My only defence was the flag of my country, and it was flung out at the instant that hundreds of muskets were leveled at us. Mr. Mason (a braver man never stood by his friend in the hour of danger) and myself placed ourselves beneath its waving folds, and the attack was suspended. We did not blench, for we felt strong in the protecting arm of this mighty Republic. We told them that the flag that waved over us was the banner of that nation to whose example they owed their liberties, and to whose protection they were indebted for their safety. The scene changed as by enchantment; those men who were on the point of attacking and massacring the inhabitants cheered the flag of our country and placed sentinels to protect it from outrage. Fellow-citizens, in such a moment as that would it have been any protection to me and mine to have proclaimed myself a Carolinian? *Should I have been here to tell you this tale if I had hung out the Palmetto and single star?* Be assured that, to be respected abroad, we must maintain our place in the Union."

* Mr. Poinsett was himself the American Ambassador at that time.

[B.]

Since these words were written, it would appear that certain other States have followed the example of South Carolina in entering upon a career of revolution, disunion, and ruin.

I have no faith in the long continuance of this hallucination over the mass of the people in any of those States. But one thing is certain: that the greater the number of the States which shall attempt to confederate together, just in the same proportion will the consequences be unpleasant and disastrous to South Carolina,—her importance will be diminished, her glory will be eclipsed, and her interests despised amid the conflicting claims of more powerful associates. And as the causes of rivalry, interfering interests, jealousies, and bitter hatred arise, so surely will they rejoice to hasten back to that fold of Union and safety from which they will feel it had been better for them if they had never departed. On this point how emphatic and how precious is the warning which we may gather from the history of the past.

Judge Story, in drawing his picture of the condition of the States during the period of their former confederation and before their Union under our present Constitution, has said—

"The very magnitude of the public evils almost discouraged every effort to relieve them. The usual consequences of such a state of things had been fully realized. Private as well as public credit was destroyed, agriculture and commerce were crippled, manufactures could not in any strict sense be said to have had an existence —they were in a state of profound lethargy. The little money which was yet remaining in the country in specie, was subject to a perpetual drain to purchase the ordinary supplies from foreign countries. The whole industry of the country was at a stand. Our artisans were starving in the streets, without the means or the habits of regular employment; and the disbanded officers of the army found themselves not only without resources, but without occupation. Under such circumstances the popular murmurs were not only loud, but deep, and the general distress became so appalling that it threatened the shipwreck of all our free institutions. In short, we seemed to have escaped from the dominion of the parent country only to sink into a more galling domestic bondage. Our very safety was felt to be mainly dependent upon the jealousy or forbearance of foreign governments."—*Judge Story on Ch. Justice Marshall, Mis. Wri., p.* 653.

Again, "Our *trade* was regulated, taxed, monopolized, and crippled, at the pleasure of the maritime powers of Europe. Every State managed its own concerns in its own way; the systems of retaliation for real or imaginary grievances were perpetually devised and enforced against neighboring States, so that instead of being a band of brothers in a common cause and guided by a common interest, the States were everywhere secret or open enemies to each other, and we were on the verge of a border warfare of interminable irritation and interminable mischiefs."—*Page* 654.

"I have labored," said Governor Edmund Randolph, "for the continuance of the Union, the rock of our salvation; I believe, as surely as that there is a God, that our safety, our political happiness and existence, depend on the Union of the States, and that, without this Union, the people of this and the other States will undergo the unspeakable calamities which discord, faction, turbulence, war, and bloodshed have produced in other countries. The American spirit ought to be mixed with the American pride, to see the Union magnificently triumphant." * * * *

"If the Union be now lost, I fear it will remain so forever. But when I maturely weigh the advantages of the Union, and the dreadful consequences of its dissolution; when I see safety on my right and destruction on my left; when I behold respectability and happiness acquired by the one course but annihilated by the other, I cannot hesitate in my decision."—*Debates in the Virginia Con., III., p.* 85, *&c.*

General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who bequeathed to his country that noble maxim, "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute," has ever been regarded with gratitude and respect by the American people, and at one time was an authority of unbounded reverence in South Carolina. I trust they will bear to be reminded that in the Legislature of 1788 that great man declared—

"This admirable manifesto (the Declaration of Independence) sufficiently refutes the doctrine of the individual sovereignty and independence of the several States. In that declaration the several States are not even enumerated; but after reciting in nervous language and with convincing arguments our right to independence, and the tyranny which compelled us to assert it,

the declaration is made in the following words, &c., &c. The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed this declaration. The several States are not ever mentioned by name in any part, as if it was intended to impress the maxim on America that our freedom and independence *arose from our Union;* and that, without it, we never could be free or independent. Let us, then, consider all attempts to weaken this Union by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent as a species of political heresy which can never *benefit* us, but may bring on us the most serious distresses."—*Debates in South Carolina* (*Miller*), *p.* 43.

[C.]

In a sermon recently preached in Trinity Church, New York, by the Rev. Francis Vinton, D. D., and since "Published by Permission," there is a reproduction of the old arguments by which the extreme High-Churchmen of the 17th century vindicated their doctrine of the "Divine right of kings," and "flung around the civil Government of a nation the sacredness of the Divine Presence and the authority of Almighty God."—*Vinton.*

An insidious attempt is also made to reconcile these principles with the Revolution in England in 1688, by which the British Constitution was perfected, and to reconcile them also with the American Revolution of 1776. All of this may sound strangely enough to every student of history, but it is still more strange that the author should have thought it necessary to make a most savage assault upon the remains of that dead lion in philosophy, *Mr. John Locke.* Because, if the results of the English Revolution were of the greatest and most lasting importance, the world is indebted for those results *to the writings of Locke.* If the Declaration of American Independence is worth anything, then I have only to say that there is not a maxim that it embodies nor a principle it announces which may not be traced directly *to the writings of Locke.*

Dr. Vinton adduces the first political Constitution of the State

of South Carolina as an instance of the "arrogancy and weakness of Locke." It is perhaps the first instance in which that great man, who was so remarkable for the admirable temper, the wise moderation, and true dignity with which he conducted all his controversies, was derided as "weak," or charged with "arrogance." But Ramsay, the Historian of South Carolina, informs us that the Lords Proprietors framed that Constitution for the government of their colony "with the aid of the celebrated John Locke." Mr. Locke's interest and agency in the matter was to see that it embraced and secured those great principles of civil and religious liberty, for the universal diffusion of which he had consecrated his life; and it was those principles that he pronounced "immortal."

If this Constitution was a "strange medley," it was not more of a medley than the very mixed population for which it was prepared. If it served its purpose for a quarter of a century, it did full as well as the most of the Constitutions that have been adopted since that day for the different States in our Union. It was by no means, however, the "bald and haggard exhibition of materialism and atheism" to which we are told that the teachings of Locke necessarily lead, "utterly ignoring the presence of God in the world" (Vinton), for it "positively required the acknowledgment of a God, and of the worship that was due to him," "without which no man could be a freeman or have any estate or habitation in Carolina." "But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship was expressly forbidden, and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he thought most conformable to the Divine will and revealed Word."—*See Ramsay's History of S. C.*

Now, it is to be feared that it was this very *liberty of conscience* for which Locke contended that has rendered his teaching so very distasteful to the ultra High-Churchmen in modern times, as well as in the days of old.

In the sermon before me, Mr. Locke is unscrupulously denounced as a "materialist," and his teaching "negatively atheistic," and working out practical atheism in society." If we did

not know the misrepresentation which the blessed Saviour and his doctrines of unearthly wisdom have received at the hands of an ungrateful world,—if we did not know how extraordinary are the contradictory senses in which the writings of the Apostle Paul have been received, and how sadly they have been perverted to bad ends,—we might well marvel at the grossness of the falsehoods which men have ventured to utter as to the opinions and character of Mr. Locke. I was aware that he had been called by turns a Roman Catholic, a Socinian, and an infidel, and now he is ranked with the "fools who say in their hearts there is no God," while the simple truth is, that Mr. Locke was no "materialist," but while he exposed the insufficiency of the grounds upon which certain writers had rested their faith in the immateriality of the soul, yet he distinctly admitted that the great truth might be proved by reasoning to be in the "*highest degree probable*," and the *highest probability* upon such a subject is all that the human mind is capable of reaching apart from Revelation.

So far from being an Atheist, that the simple truth is, Mr. Locke was one of the most sincerely devout men that ever lived. He was not only a person of the severest morality, which in a corrupt age was his "honorable singularity," but he was always distinguished for his deep and unaffected piety. While disliking some things in which he thought his Church was too narrow in her views, he yet died as he had lived, "in the communion of the Church of England." So far from "ignoring a God," it would be much nearer the truth to say that "God was in all his thoughts." How beautiful are the following rules for reading the Scriptures profitably, and which, amongst other things, were found in his handwriting after his death:—

"*If any one find any doctrinal parts of the Scripture difficult to be understood, we recommend him*—1. The study of the Scriptures in humility and singleness of heart. 2. Prayer to the Father of lights to enlighten him. 3. "Obedience to what is already revealed to him, remembering that the *practice of what we do know* is the surest way to more knowledge," &c.—*Lord King's Life of Locke, Vol. ii. p.* 54.

If such teaching leads to Atheism, may the good God, in His-

infinite mercy, bless the earth with a little more of just such Atheism!

Mr. Locke's notions upon the question of "Innate Ideas" has no more connection with his political philosophy, than Dr. Priestley's materialism had to do with his discoveries in chemistry. But, in the language of Sir James McIntosh, "in his noble zeal for liberty of thought he dreaded the tendency of doctrines which might practically prepare mankind '*to swallow that for an innate principle which may suit his purpose who teacheth them.*'"

The same delightful writer (Sir James McIntosh), in allusion to the influence of Locke in elevating the intellectual habits of mankind, most beautifully remarks,—"In this respect the merit of Locke is unrivaled. His writings have diffused, throughout the civilized world, the love of civil liberty, the spirit of toleration and charity in religious differences, the disposition to reject whatever is obscure, fantastic, or hypothetical in speculation; to reduce verbal disputes to their proper value; to abandon problems which admit of no solution; to distrust whatever cannot be clearly expressed; to render theory the simple expression of facts, and to prefer those studies *which most directly contribute to human happiness.* If Bacon first discovered the rules by which knowledge is improved, Locke has most contributed to make mankind at large observe them. He has done most, though often by remedies of silent and almost insensible operation, to cure those mental distempers which obstructed the adoption of these rules, and thus led to that general diffusion of a healthful and vigorous understanding, which is at once the greatest of all improvements, and the instrument by which all other improvements must be accomplished. He has left to posterity the instructive example of a prudent reformer, and of a philosophy temperate as well as liberal, which spares the feelings of the good, and avoids direct hostility with obstinate and formidable prejudice.

"These benefits are very slightly counterbalanced by some political doctrines liable to misapplication, and by the skepticism of some of his ingenious followers,—an inconvenience to which every philosophical school is exposed which does not limit its theory to a mere exposition of experience. If Locke

made few discoveries, Socrates made none,—yet both did more for the improvement of the understanding, and not less for the progress of knowledge, than the authors of the most brilliant discoveries. Mr. Locke will ever be regarded as one of the great ornaments of the English nation, and the most distant posterity will speak of him in the language of the poet—

"'O, Decus Angliacæ certe, O, Lux Altera gentis.'"

—*Edinburg Review*, *Vol.* XXXVI., *p.* 243.

"Great as are his merits in other respects, it is principally as the champion of civil and religious liberty that Locke is entitled to the reverence and gratitude of mankind."—*Dictionary of Biography.*

[D.]

We all know that the interruption of business relations between the North and the South has, for the time, proved most disastrous to the merchants and manufacturers engaged in the southern trade. But, if the times are bad for the northern creditors, they are infinitely worse for the southern debtors; and I utterly reject the suggestion that the great body of the merchants at the South have favored revolutionary movements in order to escape from their millions of indebtedness to the merchants of the North. They do not pay only because they cannot pay,—they are overwhelmed in the universal ruin in which political agitators have involved every species of property. But, believing, as I do, that this disturbed condition of things will be comparatively brief at the South, I am quite sure it will be still more brief at the North.

I feel quite sure that as soon as any trade is resumed at the South it will flow, as it has hitherto done, towards the North, simply because in that channel it can be done with superior expedition and cheapness. The nearest approach to *omnipotence*, in anything connected with the earth, is to be found in the law of *cheapness*. It controls all things else. Men will deal with us, not because they love us less, but because they love themselves more. It is thus that, in spite of all the denunciations of political empirics, mankind will continue to buy and sell just where

they find it most to their interest to do so; and, in that matter, the merchant is far keener sighted than the politician.

I have said that the period of depression will be even more brief at the North than at the South, because such is the marvelous elasticity in the energies of our people that, no sooner are their hopes blasted in one branch of business, than they bound up from the most forlorn condition of ruin into new life and vigor in some other avenue to prosperity and wealth.

Our New England friends may be brought to a stand-still for a few moments, when they are no longer permitted to manufacture nutmegs for the southern markets, but it will be only a few moments before they will discover something else which they can manufacture with increased profit, and so as even to undersell the spicy islands of the East in their own markets.

We have all heard of the uncounted millions of wealth that the father of rivers was always bearing upon its bosom to the ocean, and of the indispensable necessity of the mouth of the Mississippi to the prosperity of the western States; and our southern friends are little prepared, I fear, for the tidings of a revolution in the course of trade, more strange, by far, than anything of which they have yet heard. Who could have supposed it, fifty years ago, that the Mississippi River would have been so tapped and superseded by canals and railroads that its waters are no longer required to transport the produce of any free State in our Union? By far the larger proportion of breadstuffs and meats which are now received at New Orleans come from the slave States bordering upon the river; and the whole amount, in value, of breadstuffs and provisions received at the two cities, respectively, are about in the proportion of one million at New Orleans to one hundred millions at New York.

A still more extraordinary proof of the certainty with which a demand will secure a supply, is to be found in the fact that our northern railroads, for months past, have been profitably engaged in transporting the *cotton of the South*, which was seeking a market at New York and Boston.

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